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THE SIKH SANSAR: Sansar means universe. Traditionally the material universe was considered an "illusion" (Maya). The Sikhs consider the material universe as a manifestation of cosmic spirit. This journal will present the material and spiritual aspects of Sikh life.

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Contents

Guest Editorial, <i>Mark Juergensmeyer</i>	4
S. Jwala Singh (photograph)	5
“We Are Hindustanis” (poem)	6
The International Heritage of the Ghadar Party, <i>Mark Juergensmeyer</i>	7
Ghadar Publications	14
“May 10th: Ghadar’s Special Day” (poem)	17
India’s Heroes (photographs)	18
India’s Martyrs (photographs)	19
The Indian Peasant, <i>Lala Har Dayal</i>	20
Future Issues of THE SIKH SANSAR	23
Ghadar History Project: The Library’s Role, <i>Kenneth Logan</i>	24
A Selected Bibliography of Ghadar Literature, <i>Mark Juergensmeyer</i>	26
Local News	31
Letters to the Editor	33



Guest Editorial

The University of California at Berkeley has played a special role in the development of the Ghadar Party. It was at Berkeley that many of the Indian students heard about the movement and joined it; revolutionary students were brought from India on special scholarships; and Berkeley was the scene of planning sessions and strategy meetings. It is therefore appropriate that the South and Southeast Asia Library Service of the University of California at Berkeley has developed a special "Ghadar Collection" of original manuscripts, and has undertaken a bibliographic survey to determine where other Ghadar materials are throughout the world.

This special issue of the SIKH SANSAR gives some of the results of that bibliographic survey. Mark Juergensmeyer, Project Director of the Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies at Berkeley, gives a general overview of the materials available, and how they relate to major aspects of the movement; a selected list of some of the more important or representative original and secondary publications is included. In addition, Ken Logan, the South Asia bibliographer at Berkeley, and Ms. Emily Singh Datta, instructor and Ph.D. candidate in history, have written, respectively, brief accounts of the bibliographic problems and the historical significance of the Ghadar movement. We have also included two Ghadar poems, specially translated for this issue of the SIKH SANSAR, and photographs of old Ghadar magazines and journals which are in the Berkeley Ghadar collection. The bibliographic sections of this issue comprise a condensed version of *The Ghadar Legacy: A Guide to the Source Materials*, soon to be published in the Monograph Series of the Center for South and

*We are particularly indebted to Prof. Mark Juergensmeyer, Project Director of the Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, Berkeley, to be our Guest Editor for this issue of SIKH SANSAR. Prof. Juergensmeyer and his team are engaged in an in-depth study of the Ghadar movement. Their views and conclusions are being published without any alterations by the Editorial Board of the SIKH SANSAR.

Chief Editor

Southeast Asia Studies of the University of California, Berkeley. All of the articles, poems, and bibliographies in this issue of the SIKH SANSAR are copyrighted by the Regents of the University of California.

The editors of this issue wish to acknowledge the advice and assistance of the following people: Professor Joan Bondurant, for first stimulating academic interest at Berkeley in the Ghadar movement; Professor Warren Ilchman and Professor Thomas Metcalf for scholarly counsel; Professor Harold Jacoby, University of the Pacific, and Professor N. G. Barrier, University of Missouri, for sharing materials; Hasan Hamdani and Surjit Singh Guraya for help in translation; and the research and typing skills of Ms. Dora Austin-Doughty, Bill McLinn, Mary Barrett and Cynthia Dzendzel. Perhaps most important, we wish to thank the members of the Punjabi community in Northern California for their help and interest in a project which, although scholarly in intention, is a tribute to their important role in one of the more fascinating movements in modern history.

Mark Juergensmeyer

SHAHEED BHAGAT SINGH'S MOTHER HONORED

The aged mother of Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Vidyawati, has been honored by the Punjab government. At an impressive function in Chandigarh on January 1, she was given the title of *Punjab Mata*. She was given a car and a lifelong pension of Rs. 1000 a month. Rich tribute was paid at the function to Shaheed Bhagat Singh and his mother by leaders of various political parties.



PHOTOGRAPH OF S. JWALA SINGH OF SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, WHO WAS A LEADER IN THE GHADAR PARTY, AND HIS ASSOCIATES. S. JWALA SINGH SERVED IMPRISONMENT FOR HIS ACTIVITIES IN THE GHADAR MOVEMENT.

हम हिंदोस्तानी हैं
मुसल्लां हैं कि हिंदू सिख हैं या किरानी हैं ।
यहां के जितने मिनासी हैं सब हिंदोस्तानी हैं ॥
कभी तो प्रेग हैजा है कभी ताऊन चेचक है ।
हमारे वास्ते लारवां बलाघे नागे हानी हैं ॥
हमारे आंसुओं को देव कर द्याये हमे बादल ।
हूया से शरम से गौरत से दिल में पानी पानी है ॥
हैं काफल मैक्स मूलर सफ़र की तारीफ़ जब लिखी ।
हमी हर चीज के मुज्जिद हमी हर शय के बानी हैं
कभी अच्छे से अच्छे, हिंदियों के पांव पड़ते थे ।
दिरवाये शान क्या अब हम सभी दुश्मने जानी हैं ॥
इधर हमको शिकायत भर पेट रोटी न मिलने की ।
उधर इंगलैंड वाले ऐश जाद बानी हैं ॥
कोई नामो निशां पूछे तो ग़दरी उससे कह देना ।
वतन हिंदोस्तां अपना है हम हिंदोस्तानी हैं ॥

WE ARE HINDUSTANIS *

Are you Moslem? Hindu? Sikh? Whatever you are —
If you are from Hindustan, you are a Hindustani.
In these days of cholera, small pox, plague,
Things that plague us in a thousand ways,
Our tears fill the sky, over-cast like monsoon clouds;
Shame and dishonor fill the heart, the heart overflows.
When Max Muller wrote in praise of his travels,
It was we who invented everything, we discovered it all;
At one time we were blessed with Hindustani excellence,
But now we have nothing left, we bicker among ourselves.
No food to fill our bodies,
While in England they roll in luxuries.
If someone asks, 'Who are you' — tell them, oh, 'Ghadari!
My land is Hindustan, and I am a Hindustani.'

—translated by Surjit Singh Goraya
and Mark Juergensmeyer

*From *Ghadar-de Gīt*, Hindustan Ghadar Press, San Francisco, c. 1916

THE INTERNATIONAL HERITAGE OF THE GHADAR PARTY: A SURVEY OF THE SOURCES

MARK JUERGENSMEYER*

The Ghadar Party was a serious, and important, aspect of India's struggle for Independence. Yet, the Ghadar Party was also an exciting movement, full of adventure, intrigue and high drama—gunboats commandeered to India, secret deals with international agents, and an inflammatory propaganda machine. It is partly because of this fascination with Ghadar as an energetic revolutionary network that much of the research on Ghadar is directed towards the Party organization itself.

“Ghadar” is the Punjabi word for “revolution”, and in a word it describes what the movement was about: a militant movement for Indian Independence, composed primarily of Punjabis, in the early decades of this century. The word “Ghadar”, however, conceals one additional fact: the headquarters and base of support for this international conspiracy was located in the United States, specifically San Francisco and the San Joaquin Valley area of California.

Thus, the Ghadar movement stands unique. It is a complex episode in modern history, and any single report about it is bound to give a selective view from only one perspective. Its heritage is to be found in at least four different traditions:

First, it is an interesting case study among modern revolutionary movements, notable especially for its international dimensions, and the dissemination of literature to develop local and international support.

Second, it is an important development in the Indian Independence Movement, and is closely linked with militant aspects of nationalism in India around the beginning of this century; the legacy of the Ghadar movement on subsequent politics in India is sharply felt, especially in the Punjab.

Third, the Ghadar movement is fascinating as an international organization; it plays a role in the international relations among England, America, and Germany, and to a lesser extent is involved with Irish nationalism and the colonial relations of Southeast Asian countries.

Fourth, since the Ghadar movement was nurtured in American soil, it plays a role in giving identity and activity to the Punjabi community living in the United States; the Ghadar movement's legacy is thus also found within the heritage of

ethnic communities in the United States.

In this brief essay, I will give an overview of the literature which is available on the Ghadar movement, from the perspectives of each of the four traditions which I have just described. The materials available are, in general, wide-ranging and diverse; they include original documents and publications of the Ghadar party, memoirs of early participants, various governmental reports, and an abundance of “secondary sources”—books and articles written about the Ghadar movement, utilizing information from a variety of places, snippets of information pasted together to give a total sense of what the Ghadar movement was actually about.

GHADAR AS A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

The Ghadar Party was a serious, and important aspect of India's struggle for Independence. Yet, the Ghadar Party was also an exciting movement, full of adventure, intrigue, and high drama—gunboats commandeered to India, secret deals with international agents, and an inflammatory propaganda machine. It is partly because of this fascination with Ghadar as an energetic revolutionary network that much of the research on Ghadar is directed towards the Party organization itself. In most accounts of the Ghadar Party, the time-span covered is rather compact—from 1913 to 1917—and these five years provide all the ingredients for a complete adventure story, beginning with the arrival of Lala Har Dayal at Stanford University and ending with the tragic conspiracy trial in San Francisco.

The original materials and first hand accounts of those five active years of the Ghadar movement (1913–1917) are considerable, though perhaps not as complete as an historian might wish. There are relatively few party records remaining, except for a few at the U.S. Archives in San Bruno, California; according to several accounts, when the old

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Ghadar headquarters on 5 Wood Street in San Francisco were excavated and demolished about twenty years ago, the original party records were taken to a farm house near Davis, California, which promptly burned down. Other reports indicated that the records had been destroyed much earlier. Nevertheless, there are a considerable number of Ghadar publications still accessible.

The Ghadar Party made a special emphasis on publications, partly because of the energetic ambitions of Ram Chandra, the Punjabi who served as editor and News Service director for the movement. The newspapers, such as the original *Ghadr* (27)*, from which the party received its name, series of pamphlets such as *Ghadar-de-Goonj* (26), articles by Har Dayal (18–23), and other tracts (3, 4), were written in Punjabi or Urdu, and were aimed at rousing support for the movement from the Punjabi community in the United States. Other pamphlets, such as *A Few Facts About British Rule* (1), reprints of American criticism of the British (35, 11), and Ram Chandra's letter to President Wilson (12), were printed in English, and were hoped to arouse the sympathy of the general American public; parallels were drawn between India's struggle against the British and the American Revolutionary War. There were also pamphlets, posters and other materials, written in Punjabi, Urdu and Hindi which were intended to arouse the wider Indian community throughout the world; some of this literature was smuggled into India, or intended to be smuggled, past the vigilant British.

The publications were printed, quite literally, by the Ghadarites own hands on their own press, at the *Yugantar Ashram* and the Hindustan Ghadar Headquarters in San Francisco. Keshar Singh Dhillon, of Oakland, California, has the original Ghadar printing press proudly on display at his home; Mr. Dhillon also has a fine collection of many of the original publications. The Ghadar publications are described more fully in an article by Giles Brown (10), and in a chapter in Mathur's book (68).

The publications give some sense of Ghadar's ideology, but the main emphasis is simply on the evils of colonial rule, and the need for independence; there is not much suggestion of what sort of alternative government is desired. The Ghadar constitution (16) does not give much of a clue, beyond a general respect for parliamentary order.

However, the title of a later Ghadar newspaper, *The United States of India* (52), is evidence of the importance of the American model of democracy. The social and political vision of the Ghadar movement may be seen in greater depth through the writings by and about two Ghadar leaders: Sohan Singh Bhakna and Lala Har Dayal. The political thought of Bhakna, one of the members of the original founding group in Astoria, Oregon, in 1913, is described in a recent biography (65). Har Dayal, the intellectual leader of the Ghadar movement, wrote considerably, in articles (18–23) and a published volume of letters (21); his progressive liberal social vision is also described in biographies by Emily Brown (55), and by Dharmavira (59), who is himself a distinguished political figure in present-day India.

The organization of the Ghadar movement is, as is its ideology, only partially revealed through Ghadar publications. The Government Reports—the British India Office files, the U.S. Government investigations (49, 50) and records of the conspiracy trial kept at the U.S. Archives in San Bruno, California—give rather thorough and exacting descriptions of Ghadar membership and activities. These official records are balanced by the inside views of the party's organization, which are available through interviews with members of the movement.

Interviews with old Ghadarites, while invaluable for their inside perspective, create great difficulties, as well as great rewards, for scholars attempting to sort through personal interpretation, clouded memories and the distortions of time. In the Punjab, Deol (58) has used interviews with old Ghadarites there to good effect; and in the United States, about a dozen interviews were conducted by Professor Harold Jacoby of the University of the Pacific among Ghadarites around 1950, when original members of the Ghadar movement were more accessible than they are today. Professor Jacoby's interviews will be included in a larger work he is preparing for publication on the Indian community in California. Recent interviews have also been conducted with the widow of Ram Chandra (14), the widow of Lala Har' Dayal (17), Dr. Gobind Behari Lal (33, 34), Mr. and Mrs. Poona Singh (46, 47), and other Ghadar members (42).

These interviews have clarified events and shed some light on the organizational character of the movement. There was a considerable difference in style between the two major elements of the party

*Numbers indicate the bibliographic citation listed in the "Bibliography of Ghadar Literature" in this issue of SIKH SANSAR.

—the rural farmers who provided much of the support, and the more sophisticated university intellectuals who provided much of the ideological leadership. Nonetheless, the two groups seem remarkably cooperative, united in a common cause, and the inevitable factions and tensions which mar the unity of every political group, seem to be based in the Ghadar movement more on lines of personal animosities and support than on communal tensions or urban/rural jealousies. In fact, a common theme of articles and poetry, such as the poetry printed in this issue from *Ghadar-de-Giit* (25), is the unity of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh communities in the common struggle against the British; some Ghadar publications had the three names, *Ram, Allah and Nanak* on the mast head. Similarly, caste differences seem to be intentionally obscured within the movement; the autobiographies of two Punjab Scheduled Caste leaders list their participation in the Ghadar movement as crucial liberating experiences in their broader perspectives (Mangoo Ram 42, 43, and Prithvi Singh Azad 6, 7).

It would have been convenient for the historian if all Ghadarites had written down their experiences immediately after their participation. Unfortunately, history does not frequently write itself. However, the Ghadar movement comes close, not only through its publications, but through a rather recent collective history written by former Ghadarites now living in Jullundur, Punjab, and connected with the *Desh Bhagat Yaad Ghar*. Their collective history, entitled simply *Ghadar Party de Itihas* (45), is a fascinating inside account, but must be read with the realization that it was composed considerably after the fact, and that the Ghadarites connected with the *Desh Bhagat* group are not necessarily representative of the whole Ghadar membership.

There are five scholarly accounts of the Ghadar movement published recently in India which also give a broad picture of the Ghadar Party as a revolutionary movement. The difference between three of the books, by equally competent scholars, illustrate the difference of perspective which develops through a scholar's choice of source materials; Deol (58) relied primarily on interviews and other materials available in the Punjab, and develops a picture of the Ghadar movement much more integrated into the Indian Independence Movement than does Mathur (68), who relies almost entirely on government documents to painstakingly trace the intrigues of the Party; Bose (54) has tracked down records in London, Berlin and India to give a broader picture of the

international dimensions of the movement. The deep involvement of the Sikh community in the Ghadar Party is movingly attested in Khuswant Singh and Satindra Singh's (74) account of the Ghadar Party; an earlier forerunner of Ghadar scholarship, without the benefits of more recent research is Randhir Singh's *Ghadar Heroes* (77). Together, these books give a rather good summary of the resource material on the Ghadar movement which is currently available through Ghadar publications, government reports and interviews. Collectively, these books tell the exciting story of the Ghadar Party as a revolutionary movement.

GHADAR IN INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

To gain perspective on the role of the Ghadar Party in India's struggle for independence, it is necessary to expand the narrow time range of 1913–1917 to see what trends were emerging within India's nationalist leadership before 1913, how Ghadar was related to these trends, and how the impact of the Ghadar movement contributed to national and regional political consciousness well into this century. To thoroughly explore this perspective a wide range of material, much of it peripheral to the Ghadar Party, would have to be explored. Only the most basic sources will be mentioned here.

The biographies of some of the Ghadar leaders expose most directly the roots and connections of the Ghadar Party with other political movements in India. Har Dayal's origins and break with the *Arya Samaj* may be seen in the biographies of Har Dayal (Brown 55, Dharmavira 59), and in Jones' study of that organization (64); Har Dayal's continuing link with the international movement is seen in his letters (20, 21). Ram Chandra was the editor of nationalist journals in India, and according to his widow (14), was connected with nationalists in Delhi, Calcutta and throughout Southeast Asia, before coming to the United States; Bhai Permanand was similarly involved (37).

It should be mentioned, parenthetically, that the Ghadar movement was not the only Indian nationalist organization in the U.S. There were small groups preceding it, according to R. K. Das (57). H. T. Mazumdar (69) and Bose describe other groups which existed in the U.S. at the same time as Ghadar, and also later, usually of a more moderate stripe.

One way of gauging the importance of Ghadar as a revolutionary threat is by examining the British government's assessment of it at the time. The

most interesting accounts are the reports of the Punjab police investigators, Isemonger and Slattery (31), and the evidence marshalled against the Ghadar defendants in the Lahore Conspiracy trial and the Sedition Committee Report of 1918 (30). It is interesting, also, to note the sorts of literature which the British banned from entering the country, much of it published by the Ghadar Party, in the lists compiled and annotated by Barrier (8).

Historians have been of an uncertain mind regarding the importance of the Ghadar's role in modern Indian history. *The Cambridge History of India*, for example, accords it one line, and even that is inaccurate. On the other hand, Majumdar's history of the independent movement (67), devotes almost 100 pages to the Ghadar movement. Banerjee's short book (53), and Bose's larger description of the world-wide movement (54) are perhaps the best assessments of Ghadar's participation in the freedom movement. Doel's book (58) has a similar intention, and Doel similarly links Ghadar with the nationalist extremists; nonetheless, Doel is better at describing the subsequent development of the movement, especially in the Punjab.

The direct effect of the Ghadar movement on India's independence is debatable, especially since the Congress movement at the time showed it little favor and was operating with a different style. Ghadar is said to have influenced several different nationalist leaders: the relationship between Ghadar and Lajpat Rai's "India Home Rule League of America" may be examined in Lajpat Rai's autobiography (41), Rathore's study of the League (72) and other writings about Rai; the alleged connection between and Tagore is raised in Majumdar (67) and Banerjee (53), and refuted by Hay (Tagore in America, 61); Bose (54) connects M. N. Roy with Ghadar, and Doel (58) has raised the possible links between Ghadar and Subhas Chandra Bose's INA. In addition, the journalist Durga Das (*India: From Curzon to Nehru*) has claimed that Ghadar support financed the funding of India's first English-language nationalist daily newspaper *The Hindustan Times*. Nonetheless, the final impact of Ghadar on the nationalist movement at large must be said to be indirect, but useful. Ghadar helped to create a sense of urgent awareness; and with other extremist movements, Ghadar may have goaded the Congress into a more active and uncompromising stance.

The impact of Ghadar on further political developments in the Punjab is more direct. The biography of Sohan Singh Bhakna (65), the *Desh*

Bhagat Yaad Ghar history (45), and other political studies (Chaddha 56) indicate the importance of returning Ghadarites in the formulations of Punjab's leftist political groups. The Punjab leftist newspaper, *Proletarian Path* (39), was founded by old Ghadarites, and one rumor claims that a Naxalite leader recently apprehended by Punjab police was an 80-year-old Ghadarite.

Ghadarites are claimed as local nationalist leaders, (an account of the Ghadar hero memorialized by a statue in Ludhiana's city center is given in Ludhiana District Gazette), and a link is made between Ghadar and Punjab hero Bhagat Singh by Ghose (60). Ghadar's contribution to the Akali movement is mentioned in Khushwant Singh (*History of the Sikhs, Vol. II*). The Congress party, too, is a political heir of the Ghadar Party; the interesting progression of a Ghadar leader into the Gandhian movement, and later, into a high position within the Punjab Congress Party is given in the autobiography of Prithvi Singh Azad (6, 7). From the political roots of the Ghadar movement, many—Punjab political groups grew; one of the more interesting was the Punjab's strongest Scheduled Caste organization, the *Ad Dharma Mandal*, founded by a Ghadarite who sailed around the world on a Ghadar gunboat (Mangoo Ram's story is recorded in "Mere Jiwan", a series in the Jullundur newspaper, *Ravidass Patrika* 43, and in an interview 42).

GHADAR'S ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Ghadar's international net was cast far and wide, from Manila to Mandalay, from Stockton to Stockholm. It is an unfinished task of research to find out just how tightly that wide net was constructed—or more precisely, to find out the composition of the local units and the patterns of communication and command among them.

There are almost no studies of Ghadar chapters outside India and North America; yet we know others were active. Various sources list Ghadar chapters in Hong Kong, Manila, Bangkok, Shanghai and Panama in addition to contacts in Europe and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. According to British government records (The Indian Sedition Committee, 1918, 30), Doel's analysis and a study by Moosbergen (71), the 1915 Singapore uprising among Punjabi soldiers stationed in the British army was fomented by the Ghadar Party. There was a considerable amount of Ghadar literature published in China and Japan, apparently to be smuggled into India; some of this literature is

still available (15). The China chapters of the Ghadar Party were, apparently, to be the staging area for the "Tibetan Mission" of a Ghadar cadre, organized in the United States and in various parts of South and Southeast Asia, which intended to attack British India through the Himalayas, but were apprehended; surely one of the more ambitious episodes of Ghadar history, this event is unreported, except in a few interviews (Mrs. Poona Singh, 47); the date is uncertain, and it may have involved Raja Mahendra Pratap in the early 1920's. Another event, equally ambitious, but less directly related to the Ghadar movement, was the effort of Raja Mahendra Pratap to set up an independent government in exile in Afghanistan, mostly with the support of Punjabi Muslims in the area; it is also an under-researched event, especially insofar as its ties to the international Ghadar movement are concerned; but some account is given in Pratap's own autobiography (38) and in Bose (54).

India was not the only country mobilizing against British colonialism in the early 1900's; and in particular, Ghadar found friendship in Ireland's revolutionary brotherhood. Some Ghadar publications specifically attest to this sense of Irish-Indian unity against the British oppressors; there is, for example, the pamphlet *Hindustan atte Ireland* (32). And according to Mrs. Ram Chandra (14), it was the Irish who defended and supported the Ghadarites in California during the difficult days of the San Francisco Conspiracy Trial in 1917-1918.

It was with Germany that the Ghadar movement made its most significant—and damaging—international alliance. Since the Germans were at war with the British at the time, an alliance with the Germans appeared to be a prudent decision, following the classical "mandala" dictum of the ancient Indian political philosopher Kautilya: "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." The problem, of course, was that the entrance of the United States into World War I made Ghadar's dealings with the Germans dreadfully untimely, and provided the cause for American government investigation (documented by D. P. Singh 73 and Strasser 80). Americans might otherwise have had considerable sympathy for the Ghadar movement. The U.S. also fought a revolutionary war with the British; and Americans could not condemn the Ghadarites for seeking German aid. After all, America had attempted to make a similar sort of alliance with a major European power—France—during America's colonial break with Britain scarcely a century before.

The relationship of the Ghadar Party to Germany should not be exaggerated. In the Ghadarites own recollection of the movement, as recalled in interviews (14, 17, 33), autobiographies (7, 34, 38, 43) and the "official" *Desh Bhagat* history (45), the role of the Germans is rather minor. There was, evidently, some monetary support; and according to Bose (54) and M.N. Roy (44) there were close connections between Ghadar and the Indian National Committee in Berlin—a Bengali, Chakravarty, was apparently kept busy running messages between the two camps. But the major attempt at support appears to be the German arrangement in 1915 for two ship loads of weapons on the American boats *Maverick* and the *Annie Larson*, to be supplied to Ghadar armies training in Siam and elsewhere in Southeast Asia; the attempt was a disaster, due to British intervention.

Despite its relative unimportance, the German issue is a subject of great fascination. Bose makes it a focus in his book (54), and the German-Ghadar relationship occupies much of Mathur's account of the Ghadar movement (68), Giles Brown's (9, 10) and the earlier studies by Spellman (78) and Sperry (79). Part of the reason for the great interest of historians in the German issue is the easy availability of sources; the German issue, after all, was perhaps the subject of greatest concern to both Britain and America at the time, and the government reports evidence an absolute obsession over the matter. The government reports, both of Britain (30), and the United States' intelligence agencies (especially the Federal Archives material), are by far the most thorough account of the Ghadar-German dealings.

With regard to the German conspiracy issue, special mention should be made of the material collected in evidence and the testimonies of witnesses for the great conspiracy trial in San Francisco in 1917-18, which effectively ended the most active period of the Ghadar Party, and in which Ram Chandra, the energetic Ghadar editor, lost his life, and many others were deported. Copies of the court transcript of that trial (*The United States vs. Franz Bopp, et. al.*) have, curiously, only been available for general use in the India Office Library, London; some microfilm segments of the 6,000 page manuscript are, however, available in the United States. The voluminous materials (some twenty boxes) collected in evidence by the American government for that trial include some party records, personal testimonies and rare Ghadar publications; they are being kept, unsorted and uncatalogued, but easily accessible for research examination, by the West

Coast division of the U.S. government federal archives at 1000 Commodore Drive, San Bruno, California, near San Francisco.

There are a few other sources on the "German issue," some of them used in Landau's biased report on German agents during the World War I (66). The major unexplored area for research on the German issue is the archives of the German government; one might expect a better perspective on Germany's interest and support towards the Ghadar movement from these files, if accurate records are still available there as, indeed, they have been rumored to be.

THE GHADAR CHAPTER IN AMERICA'S ETHNIC HISTORY

A few of the Ghadar leaders were temporary residents of the United States, finding on America's shores a brief resting place in their international quest to develop support for India's freedom. But for many other leaders, and for most of the Ghadar movement's followers, North America was to be a long-range place of residence. For them, participation in the Ghadar movement was partly a result of their frustration as a new minority community—a frustration of economic and social conditions, and a frustration of identity.

Most accounts of the Ghadar Party, such as Khushwant Singh (74), Deol (58) and others, recognize that the problems of the immigrant community provided much of the impetus for enthusiastic support for the Ghadar movement; the new Indian immigrants were not being treated hospitably in the "nation of immigrants", and their difficulty in being able to assimilate with dignity into American and Canadian society created a special need to affirm their Indian identity. The most useful information about immigration statistics, laws and residents in this period is in Congressional reports (50), and the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Immigration files (51); Waiz's book, *Indians Abroad* (81) written in 1927, is also helpful because of his interviews with early immigrants. There are other specialty articles on this period, on immigration in general and the Punjabis in particular (see especially R. K. Das 57, Morse 70, P. S. Singh 76 and the proceedings of the Asiatic Exclusion League 5). American newspapers and magazine articles at the time give a shocking indication of the sort of vulgar mass portrayal of the "Hindus", which they call all Indians regardless of faith. The Ghadar Party linked America's exclusion of Indians to British influence (13).

The story of the tragic journey of the ship *Komagata Maru* is of special interest, not only because it highlights the dilemma of the Indian immigrants, but also because it has a direct relationship to the beginnings of the Ghadar movement. The ship was specially chartered in 1914 to bring new immigrants to British Canada, but even though they had carefully followed Canadian laws designed to make entry almost impossible, they were not allowed ashore in Vancouver, and on sadly returning to Calcutta were fired upon by the British police. To the Indian in North America observing this tragedy of errors, the new appeal of Ghadar's anti-British cause seemed suddenly appropriate. The *Komagata Maru* incident is included in British government reports and local Canadian newspapers. Fortunately for historians, the organizer of the whole affair, Gurdit Singh, wrote his own book-length account, *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru* (28), which is also valuable for its description of the general immigration situation at that time.

The context of the Indian ethnic community in America was, in a sense, the cradle of Ghadar's birth, and it was also the ground to which the Ghadar Party returned, following the brief years of hectic international activity 1913–1917. The Ghadar Party continued after 1917 for a good many years, but it was a somewhat different kind of organization. The old cry for Indian independence still was heard through such publications as the *United States of India* (52), the *Independent Hindustan* (29) and other publications. But in addition the Party seemed to take on a greater importance among the local Punjabi community in California, as a focus for their ethnic identity and, along with the *Khalsa Diwan Society*, a center of local social and political activity.

Unfortunately, there is rather little research done nor many records available on the Ghadar Party after 1920. Keshar Singh Dhillon, through the newspaper *Call of the Martyrs* has helped keep the Ghadar memories alive in more recent years. During the 1950's, the "Red Scare" foolishly raised ugly and inaccurate rumors about the Ghadar movement and resulted in some articles about the Ghadar movement which were as much fiction as fact. But, partly because of the "Red Scare", accurate accounts of the later development of the Ghadar Party in the United States are virtually unreported. A sociologist, Professor Harold Jacoby of the University of the Pacific, Stockton, has an impressive collection of interviews, government records and local accounts gathered over some twenty years,

but very little of this material has been thus far used in publications (62, 63).

The local community of Punjabis can take justifiable pride in their role in the Ghadar movement. Likewise, American Punjabis associated with the Ghadar movement have played distinguished roles within American society: Jawala Singh, leader in the San Joaquin agricultural community; Rep. D. S. Saund, first Asian to be elected as member of the U.S. House of Representatives; Professor Tarak Nath Das, scholar and author; and Dr. Gobind Bihari Lal, Pulitzer Prize-winning science editor of the Hearst newspaper chain, who has written some accounts of the Ghadar Party (34). More complete research will be needed, however, on the history of the Indian ethnic community in California, gathered from interviews and local records, before a final assessment may be made about the role of Ghadar in the larger process of America's social development.

SUMMARY OF THE MATERIALS AVAILABLE

The written material available on the Ghadar movement—in its several perspectives—is quite numerous. Most of the original documents are written in Punjabi or Urdu and they include at least six newspapers or magazines, thirty pamphlets, and dozens of posters, all printed by the Hindustan Ghadar Party. These original sources are augmented by the files and records of various government agencies of Britain, Canada and the United States. The other source of original information comes from some ten autobiographies and thirty interviews with actual members of the Ghadar Party. There are also newspaper reports from the *San Francisco Examiner* and *Chronicle* and the *Vancouver Sun*, but no official party records are known to still exist, except those preserved as evidence from the 1919 trial.

From these original sources which are still available, there have been written at least six scholarly books on the Ghadar Party, and over twenty scholarly articles or chapters of books. There are some ten biographies of Ghadar leaders. In addition, there are over a hundred or more general historical and bibliographic works which touch on the Ghadar

movement in a peripheral way, but are nonetheless useful for their special perspectives or particular bits of information.

These books, articles and newspapers are not, unfortunately, all in one place. Most likely, the largest single collection of original and secondary material in the United States is the Ghadar Collection of the South and Southeast Asia Library Service at the University of California at Berkeley. An even larger collection, augmented by an excellent collection of microfilm copies of governmental reports, is to be found in the National Archives, New Delhi, India. The *Desh Bhagat Yaad Ghar* in Jullundur, Punjab, has much of the other original materials available in India. The India Office Library and the British Museum in London are extremely useful, not only for important government records, but also for their collection of original Ghadar material; much of their material is described in Barrier's forthcoming monograph. The United States government's records are also important, and are located in the National Archives and Library of Congress, Washington, and on microfilm in many university libraries; the special U.S. government collection of the Conspiracy Trial evidence, now at San Bruno, has most of the U.S. government material, four are worthy of special note: the Library of the Sikh Temple, Stockton, California; Professor Harold Jacoby's collection relating to the Indian ethnic community, located at the University of the Pacific, Stockton, California; Keshar Singh Dhillon's collection of original Ghadar materials which are gathered at the Punjab Study Center, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

More research is yet to be done. There may well be new sources of material uncovered in the present-day resurgence of research interest in the Ghadar movement, an interest which is long overdue, for such a significant and accessible topic. The renewed interest may be credited to the discovery of the rich research materials presently available, and to the endless fascination which this important movement evokes, a movement which has left its legacies in many distinct and different ways in both India and the United States.



شام ہندی امریکہ کے وفادار ہیں۔ مگر جو ہندی انگریزوں کے لئے بھرتی ہو۔ وہ انسان ہندی نہیں ہے۔

مفتی خدیو سائفرالہ سنگھ کی آئندہ تاریخ ۳۰ جون ۱۹۱۶ء ہے

The Organ
of the
Gadar Party
ہندستان

انگریزی راج کا جانی دشمن ہفتہ وار ارور گورکھی اخبار

نمبر ۲۴

۲۳ جون ۱۹۱۶ء

جلد ۲

غلاموں کے آزاد کر نیو لا

پرنیڈینٹ ابراہم لنکن



ابراہم لنکن امریکہ کا سولہواں پرنیڈینٹ بنے۔
سی پلکن پارٹی سے لٹن رکھتا تھا۔ انہوں نے نیگرو کو
آزادی دلائی تھی۔

انگریزی راج کا پتلا چٹھا

- ۱- انگریز ہر سال پچاس کروڑ روپہ ہندوستان سے کھینچ کر لجاتے ہیں۔ اس روپہ ہندوستان آیتے غریب ہو جاتے ہیں۔ مگر ہندی
آمرتی کی کس مانج پسہ ہے۔
- ۲- زمین کا دکان ۶۵ فیصدی سے زیادہ ہے۔
- ۳- ۲۴ کروڑ آدمیوں کی تقسیم پر پورے آٹھ کروڑ اور انتظام
خط صحت پر دو کروڑ روپہ خرچ کیا جاتا ہے۔ مگر فوج پر
مارے انہیں کر دے۔
- ۴- انگریزی راج میں قحط بڑھتے جاتے ہیں۔ مگر ہندی دس برس
میں دو کروڑ ہندوستانی بھوک سے مرے۔
- ۵- بنگلہ سے لڑنے والے سرداروں میں آسمی لاکھ موتیں ہوئیں۔ اور
لہذا اور اموات پچھلے بیس سال میں چار بیس لاکھ ہو چکی ہیں۔
- ۶- ہندوستانی ریاستوں میں لٹاق اور امیری پھیل چکی اور انگریزی راج
کا رسوخ بڑھا چکی ہے۔
- ۷- انگریزوں کو ہندوستانیوں کے قتل کرنے اور ہندوستانی عورتوں کی
عزت برباد کر چکی کوئی شرا نہیں دسی جاتی۔
- ۸- ہندوستانیوں میں فساد کر چکی کرشنش کی جاتی ہے۔
- ۹- ہندوستانیوں کے روپہ سے بیانی پارلیمنٹ کو دیکھ جاتی ہے
- ۱۰- ہندوستان کی صحت و عزت کو انگلستان نے فائبر کیلے برباد کیا ہے
- ۱۱- ہندوستان کے روپہ سے اور ہندوستانیوں کی جانیں
تلف کر کے چین۔ انگلستان۔ برابہ اور فارس نے کھینچے۔
- ۱۲- ہندوستان کی آبادی ریاستوں میں ۷ کروڑ۔
اور انگریزی علاقہ میں ۲۲ کروڑ ہے۔
- ۱۳- انگریزوں کی فوج طاقت ۱۲ لاکھ اور ۱۹۱۶ء اور ۱۹۰۹ء میں

The Editor Hindustan Gadar P. O. Box No. 16
San Francisco, Cal. U. S. A.

The Independent Hindustan

A Monthly Review of Political, Economic, Social and Intellectual Independence of India

Vol. I JANUARY, 1921 No. 5

America and India
By Dr. Moras Levett, Dean of the University of Chicago

India's Fight for Independence

Editorials
Notes and News

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MAY 10TH: GHADAR'S SPECIAL DAY*

In the history of Hindustan, today's day is worth remembering;
Today, throughout the land, the Ghadar Movement rings.
Joy is felt all over; patriotism is, like Spring, in bloom.
Every Indian's heart has room for freedom, and the cry
In echoes can be heard, "Destroy the foreigner,"
Plant the national flag, the throne and the crown take over."
A plaintive voice is singing in the atmosphere:
Take the message of the Ghadar, spread it over Hindustan.
Whisper it in Hindustani ears, the children and old men;
Cruelty has been ended, suffering has been put to an end.
Therefore, arise, dear warriors of the Indian battle-field,
Set aside caste differences, pick up the bow and spear.
India is in tragedy, Indians are in deep pathos,
Starving Hindustanis are the victims of long famine.
They have no home or hearth or health;
On seeing our country's grief, a stream of tears rolls unrelieved.
With gladness, let us sacrifice our life,
The death of slavery our heart-felt oath.
See the Moslem priest, spreading the Ghadar message;
The Brahmin, too, a servant in our festive task;
In brief, everyone has given up his daily duties,
Trying to choke the voice of the ruling British.
Some have been hanged, but no one complained.
And we are the heirs for whom they have given up their lives.
We are the ones for whom Pundes sacrificed,
For whom Tantia, Nana, and Ahmed Shah martyred themselves.
They planted and watered the seeds of freedom with their blood,
But we neglect their seedlings and have slumbered;
None are quite as cowardly as we,
Are our hearts of stone, that they cannot be moved?
The martyrs sacrificed themselves for their beloved land,
Neglecting neither ideals nor sword as long as they were alive;
Lakhsmi Bai fought bravely in the battle-field.
Fiery sparks are glowing and rise in the Ghadar's chest,
The blood in the veins of the heroes will become manifest.
They worshipped freedom, and caused the world to tremble.
We'll destroy the foreigner and his castles dismantle.
May 10th is a glorious day, that is this day, today,
When our old wise men drink the holy nectar;
Therefore, my beloved ones, take the oath to death together,
India's slavery will be banished, Freedom will reign Forever.

*—translated by Surjit Singh Goraya
and Mark Juergensmeyer*

*From *Ghadar-de-Giit*, Hindustan Ghadar Press, San Francisco, C. 1916.

INDIA'S HEROES



Jagat Ram



Nidhan Singh



Prof. Parmanand



Jowala Singh



Kesar Singh



Parithvi Singh



Piyara Singh



Sohan Singh



Besakha Singh



Inder Singh



Udaham Singh



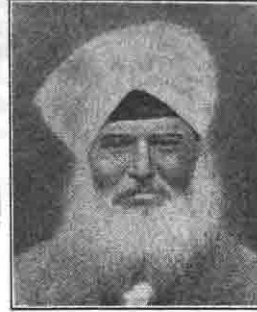
Mangal Singh

The above are among the 5000 who have been imprisoned for life during 1915 and 1916.

INDIA'S MARTYRS



Kartar Singh



Gurdit Singh



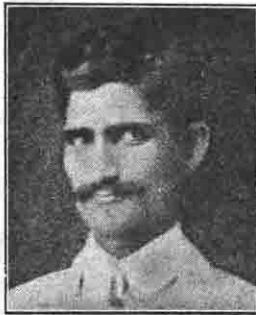
Kanshi Ram



Amir Chand



Rahmat Ali Shah



Sohan Lal



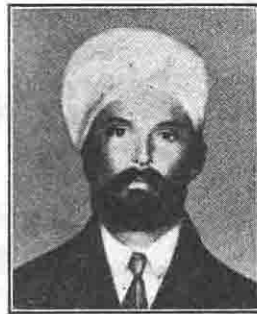
V. G. Pingle



Jiwan Singh



Jagat Singh



Kehar Singh

The above are among the 400 who have been hanged during 1915 and 1916.

THE INDIAN PEASANT

LALA HAR DAYAL*

The condition of the laboring classes of India today is one of extreme misery and ignorance. The peasant is over-taxed, rack-rented, under-fed and ill-clad. He is the first victim of plague and famine. He pays the prince, the government official, the landlord, the lawyer, the village usurer and the priests for their "services". And at the end, little is left for his own family as he stands near the furrow:

*The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back the burden of the world.*

To me the most interesting figure in India is the Peasant. I would not put even the Swami above him: the peasant feeds the Swami. As to the other classes, they are only the scum of society, the riff-raff which, as Carlyle said, "let the wind blow where it listeth."

The artisan class in the town comes next in importance, the weavers, the shoemakers, the factory-hands, the blacksmiths and tinsmiths, the carpenters and masons. This urban class is also very fascinating for me, as I contemplate its manifold activities.

Third in usefulness and interest comes the unskilled menial class—the sweepers and scavengers, the Kahars and doli-bearers, the cooks and Khan-samas, the syces and coolies—the immense and varied underworld of India, the submerged humanity that longs to break its chains.

In this kingdom of Labor, there reigns a stillness as of death. The peasant, the artisan, and the servant are all dumb. Who will give them a voice? Who will be their poet? Who will write a Ramayana and a Mahabharata for them? India waits for her true Poet. For the people live in huts and hovels, not in bungalows and palaces.

And why am I chiefly interested in these classes and not in the well dressed respectable peoples who make so much noise like crickets in a field at night? The reason is plain. These laboring classes constitute the People of India. There are a few princes, nabobs, graduates, lawyers, bankers, physicians, swamis and pundits in India, but there are millions of peasants, artisans and scavengers. The vast numerical preponderance of these laboring classes entitles them to the place of honor in our society.

Besides, these classes produce all the wealth of the country. They do all the work that is done from year's end to year's end. They feed and

clothe all; they build houses and carriages and roads for all. They plough and dig in rain and sun, and create all that sustains social life. The peasant is the *anna-data*, the Vishnu of Society. He is the source of all life and strength. He is the Sun: other classes are like planets shining by his light. Above all swamis and sheikhs, pundits and pracharaks, lawyers and bankers, rajas and maharajas, stands the peasant, the giver of bread.

The artisan completes the work of the Peasant. He moulds into shapes of beauty the cotton, the raw hide, the uncouth timber of the forest, the formless mass of metal from the mine. His deft fingers give us clothes, houses, utensils, shoes, glasses, pens and rudraksha-matas—all things that distinguish the civilized man from the savage. Verily, the artisan is a magician.

The menial class performs the most necessary service. What would a town become without the scavengers? What would our ladies do without the doli-bearers? The scavengers are the masters of society; but they do not know it. A strike of scavengers would bring the proudest prince to his knees in a week.

Therefore let now "educated," caparisoned, perfumed, eloquent and indolent India be offended and alarmed, when I declare my allegiance to the unkempt and coarsely-clad peasant and artisan. Let not the graduate murmur when I say that I am not interested in him as such. I look at society from below; they look at it from above. They begin with the rajah; I begin with the scavenger. They worship wealth; I worship the creator of wealth. They honor the rich who live in fine mansions; I honor the poor who build those mansions. I am the mouthpiece of the disinherited millions.

It is remarkable that Indian tradition and history should have neglected or despised the peasant and the artisan from time immemorial. The theory of the four castes assigns the third and fourth places to the laboring classes, while the priests and the

*Lala Har Dayal, the well-known patriot and philosopher, was one of the guiding lights of the Ghadar movement. This article by him is published to illustrate his fiery dedication to the cause of the Indian peasant.

soldiers stand at the top. A more absurd inversion of the natural order of society cannot be imagined. We hear people speak in rapturous terms of this fourfold division. They do not see that it reverses the true measure of social importance. If the vaishyas and the sudras were placed in the highest ranks, one might say a good word for the tradition of the chatur-varnyam. But the social degradation of the bulk of the nation, which is implied in this theory, condemns it as altogether irrational and mischievous. I am not discussing the caste system as a barrier to unity and "national" cooperation. On this occasion, I wish to point out the pernicious effects on our minds of a tradition that makes the peasant the social inferior of the priest and the warrior. We teach the peasant to despise himself. Labor has been continually told that it occupies the third place in society. No wonder that it has lost self respect. Suggestion is as powerful in social ethics as in hypnotism.

We must change the national psychology in this respect. And by "national psychology" I mean the psychology of the peasant and the artisan. There is not much use in preaching this truth to the brahman and the Kshatriya. The graduate will not admit that the carpenter is a worthier person than himself: he is blinded by his diploma. The raja will not bow in the street to the blacksmith: his palace cuts him off from the realm of Truth. The peasant alone will hail the message with joy. He will know his own worth, when he is told that he is the first, not the third. Nay, we should teach him that he is the first and the rest nowhere. When he hears it proclaimed that he is the true Arya, the agriculturist, he will rise to his full human stature. He will cease to cringe before the idlers, the pundits and soldiers, the lawyers and mahajans. It is time that this soul-killing tradition of the brahmin-Kshatriya sociology be set aside. New modes of thought must be implanted in the minds of the people.

Again, the national literature of India is one of the most demoralizing forces in our midst. From beginning to end, we have a chant in praise of Kings and soldiers. The Ramayana exalts and deifies Kingship; it is one of the most efficient causes of the slavery of Labor in India. The word "raja" has acquired a magic hold on our minds. The poet could not choose a peasant to depict the ideal type of character; he must needs find a prince to preach his moral! The Mahabharata is one long barbaric saga in praise of warriors and idlers. What elevating message can be found in this disgusting medley of prince-worship and murder and treach-

ery? Youdhishthira may have never told a lie, but he also never produced a blade of corn or mended a pair of shoes. These poems have been written by the brahmins and Kshatriyas, and therefore glorify war and religion. We also find that many great heroes of Indian history are Kings and emperors. Vikramajitya, Asoka, and Pirthiraj are household names among us. Indeed the Hindus seem to have had a fatal predilection for Kings and queens. Even in our fairy-tails, we always begin with "the raja and the rani." The imagination of the child is thus poisoned at the source. The pomp and display of the Rama-Leela accustoms the people to public exhibitions of social inequality and royal arrogance. The glorification of rajas and maharajas in Hindu history and custom must be condemned as a relic of barbarism, if we are to enter on a new stage of social progress. These hideous old garments must be thrown aside.

The social prestige acquired by the orders of the monks also degrades and demoralizes the peasants and the artisans. Buddhism and other cults condemned economic activity as "worldliness." The "spiritual" aspirant must look down upon such material pursuits as corn-raising, house-building and latrine-cleaning. This trend of thought impaired the dignity of Labor and made the Peasant almost apologize for his work. The hymns of the Middle Ages are full of sentiments that exalt the parasitic "spiritual" ascetic above the laborious peasant and mechanic. The psychological effects thus produced have been disastrous for the social welfare.

Even our swamis and saints hover around princes and rich men. Some of the most noted swamis of modern India visited the courts of princes, and thought that the princes were the strategic points in social and religious reform. It is strange that persons, who have renounced wealth and rank, should try to form an unholy alliance with those who spend their lives in pleasure and indolence. The People of India are indeed unfortunate. Even their saints go to princes, but do not visit the peasant's humble cottage.

Other preachers and reformers have addressed themselves to the middle classes, the lawyers and civil servants, the physicians and bankers, the "safed-posh" literate people. Alas! how true it is that ill-gotten wealth attracts to itself all that is valuable in the world, even the opportunities for education and moral self-culture. When the swamis lean on the lawyers, who rob the peasants, the people are indeed doomed to servitude.

Every new movement voices the aspirations only of the well-to-do classes. The Congress demands a larger share in the administration for them. The various sects establish schools and colleges for them. The princes give the peasants' money for the establishment of Universities for the sons of the rich and the respectable. Scholars are sent to foreign countries to qualify for industrial careers. All these benefits or supposed benefits accrue only to the middle and upper classes. What does the Peasant gain from them? He really pays for all these movements, but he does not share in the culture and comfort that they bring. Even the self-denial of noble and patriots engaged in educational work in the Punjab and the Maharashtra is placed at the service of the selfish and ambitious sons of the middle class. Is it worth while to devote a lifetime of persistent self-sacrifice to the manufacture of lawyers and clerks and bankers, who plunder the peasantry? Is this called progress? What good does the Peasantry get out of all this activity?

It is curious to find that even the "extremists" do not care much for the Peasantry and the artisans. They perhaps aim at the establishment of a national government with a hierarchy of princes and two houses of Parliament and so forth. If they are wiser and more democratic, they talk of a Republic, with representative government, which would mean the rule of the educated classes and the landowners, bankers and manufacturers. The People of India seem to be left out of the calculations of all parties and movements. How is it that we do not think of the peasants and the artisans first? Our psychology is fundamentally wrong. Our imagination stops at the border-line that separates the clean and literate classes from the dirty and illiterate masses. Where we stop, there humanity begins. We waste our lives in the service of false gods. The rich classes are only counterfeit coin. They are caricatures of the true humanity that lives its busy life on the field, in the factory and the workshop. The pearl lies at the bottom of the sea; the weeds float on the surface. Even so, it is with Society.

The condition of the laboring classes of India today is one of extreme misery and ignorance. The peasant is over-taxed, rack-rented, under-fed and ill-clad. He is the first victim of plague and famine. He pays the prince, the government official, the landlord, the lawyer, the village usurer and the priests for their "services". And at the end, little is left for his own family as he stands near the furrow:

The emptiness of ages in his face,

And on his back the burden of the world.

The Peasant is the symbol of India in her helplessness and despair. Mute in his anguish, half-unconscious of his own sorrows, dead to the outer world, insensible to the higher life of culture and progress, the Indian Peasant needs a Voice to sing his woes. Then would be heard a dirge the like of which was never heard before. The Book of Job, the lamentation of Jeremiah, the plaints of Hali and the Hindu patriot, the wail of the widow and the orphan, would be but as a child's sob drowned in the mighty chorus of indignant Labor. Let the Peasantry begin to speak of its burden of grief, and all poets and poetasters would be hushed into shame. The real epic of India remains to be written.

The artisans and unskilled laborers in the towns live in poverty and squalor. They are disunited, unorganized, devoid of real social consciousness. They have very little self respect.

How can this great world of Labor be saved from its slavery and ignorance? Who will rouse it from its slumber?

The task devolves on the rare spirits among the "educated" classes. To the eternal glory of human nature be it said that the pioneers of the Emancipation of Labor have often come from the upper classes. Love transcends all barriers of class and caste. A few who dream dreams and see visions feel for and with the poor. They are ostracized and persecuted by their own class; but they are adored by those whom they serve. They know that their culture is a gift from the laborers who maintain the colleges but never enter them. They realize with an ever-deepening sense of obligation, that they must repay this debt with unwearied service to the Peasantry. They turn away from the artificial and selfish world of Idlers, and throw in their lot with the workers. Such heroes and heroines are the saviours of Labor.

All those who wish to serve the Poor must be poor themselves. If you would help the peasants, go and live among them. Share their coarse meal and talk their rough speech. Do not go to them as gentlemen, go to them as fellow-workers. Do not preach to them from the platforms of conferences and congresses, with all the marks of your parasitism upon you. Divest yourselves of your silk and satin, and then go to serve the artisans of the town and the peasants of the village. Princes and ministers, lawyers and bankers, demagogues and journalists will not and cannot help the peasants. There is a deep-seated enmity between the

man who produces wealth and the man who merely consumes it. Put not your faith in princes and graduates.

If there be some among our educated men who yearn for the higher life of love and self-denial, they should not waste their energy in furthering the material and political interests of the rich and

“respectable” classes. **The People deserve the full measure of your sacrifice. Leave the talkers, the idlers, the parasites, the cowards, the well-fed animals of the middle class. Go and serve the humble and lowly, the oppressed peasant and the exploited artisan. Lo! the Peasant stands in the field, and wistfully asks: “When will the light come to me?”**

The next issue of the SIKH SANSAR (June 1973) will feature

GHADAR ISSUE –Part II

You are invited to submit articles, news items, and other material pertinent to the subject. Deadline for manuscripts is April 15. Kindly mail all material to:

The Editor, SIKH SANSAR
Post Office Box 727
Redwood City, California 94064

In future issues

the SIKH SANSAR plans to feature special subjects such as
SIKH HISTORICAL SHRINES SIKH ART
SIKH EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
SIKH CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIA’S INDEPENDENCE
MANAGEMENT OF SIKH ORGANISATIONS

You are also invited to submit articles, news items and other material pertinent to these subjects. Please read carefully the “Instructions to Authors” inside back cover.

In the previous issue

Editorial	
Saga of the American Sikh, <i>by Gurnam Singh Sidhu</i>	
Model for a Sunday School, <i>by Mrs. Gail Sidhu</i>	
Washington Reports, <i>by Dr. Shamsheer Singh</i>	
My Early Years in America, <i>by Sardar Puna Singh</i>	
The American Sikh (photographs)	
The Sikhs of Sutter County, <i>by Lawrence A. Wenzel</i>	
Local News	
Life in These United States	
Future Issues of THE SIKH SANSAR	
Sikh Organization Forms	

GHADAR HISTORY PROJECT: THE LIBRARY'S ROLE
KENNETH LOGAN*

Our major task is to locate still existing printed materials which could be added to the growing collection at Berkeley. Some of the materials we are interested in include: Pamphlets (*Ghadar-di-Goonj, Ilan-i-Jang, Naya-Zamana, The Balance Sheet of British Rule*), Magazines (*Ghadar, Desh Sewak, Khalsa Herald, Aryan, Sansar, Hindustani, Canada and India, Yugantar, Swarajya, Navshakti, Bharti*); Newspaper clippings and magazine articles related to the Ghadar Party; Letters of Ghadar members and supporters; Photographs of Ghadarites; Posters; Records of meetings, etc.

When the goals of the Ghadar Party History Project were first formulated, it was decided that the Library would play an important role. We recognized that the fine collection in the fields of Indian and California history at Berkeley would provide an appropriate location for materials on the Ghadar Party. After searching through the Library collection, we found a fair number of books and magazine articles dealing with the Ghadar Party, Indian immigration into California and Canada, and the freedom movement for India within the United States. We also located British, Canadian, Indian and American government documents dealing with the Ghadar Party. Located also were a few Ghadar Party publications. We believed that this was a good start. Many of these materials are listed in Mr. Juergensmeyer's article in this issue of the SIKH SANSAR.

But our own work began when we first started to sort through four cartons of varied Ghadar materials which were given to the South/Southeast Asia Library Service several years ago. The cartons contained books, pamphlets, broadsides (these are large sheets consisting of printing on one side only), posters, photographs, a microfilm print, magazines, clippings and manuscripts. These assorted treasures, in various stages of decomposition, were printed in English, Urdu, Punjabi and German. Some have been used by researchers before, but the main disadvantage was their total lack of organization and their physical condition, ranging from satisfactory to very poor. Thus we have embarked on a task to organize these few materials. We have sorted out the various issues of magazines, organized the pamphlets and have done some translating of the Indian language material. We have also begun to record on library catalog cards the appropriate information for eventual cataloging.

It soon became apparent that the library's role in this project would be divided into three parts. First of all, we have continued to identify and review all materials in the General Library at Berkeley which have anything to do with the Ghadar Party. Most of these books, magazines and other materials are located in the regular library collections spread over the Berkeley campus. We have not attempted to bring all of these materials together under one roof. Instead, we organized our library card catalog in the South/Southeast Asia Library Service so that researchers can easily determine the materials' physical location. The important objective will be to have access to materials through a central "finding device": in this case, a library card catalog.

A second task will be the housing of certain Ghadar materials in the South/Southeast Asia Library Service as part of a Ghadar Collection. Hopefully, these will be so-called "fugitive" materials—primarily non-book items—and would include pamphlets, broadsides, posters, manuscripts, photographs and other materials. Many of these items will be in poor condition, no doubt, making it difficult to bind them into book form. But these materials would also be recorded so that they too can be located through the card catalog.

Finally, we will also identify Ghadar materials and related items in other libraries and institutions. In some cases we may be able to make microfilm copies and place the items in the Berkeley collection. But in any case, we will publish a bibliography on the Ghadar Party which will include items in the Berkeley Library, in the Ghadar Collection and in other institutions. This printed bibliography will be an exhaustive listing of the varied sources dealing with the Ghadar Party.

One of the most interesting aspects to the Ghadar project has been the identification and location of materials which were previously unavailable to scholars. We feel strongly that some effort must

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made to locate any Ghadar records, publications, letters, manuscripts, photographs of members, and so on still lying in private or archival collections. We know that much of this material has been lost or destroyed over the last 60 years, but some must still remain in private hands. It would be an excellent memorial to the Ghadar Party and its members if these materials could be made available to historians. The Ghadar Party in San Francisco and in Northern California is not only an important part of India's history but it also has a place in the history of California. And we feel that the Berkeley Library would be a most appropriate home for this material. In this regard we are attempting to locate all material, especially items having to do with the Ghadar Party in California. We recognize that the Ghadar Party's activities extended to many countries. It would be impossible to even guess what kinds of records exist undiscovered in India, in Canada and elsewhere. We hope that institutions and libraries in other areas will attempt to uncover these materials for research purposes. For our project, we will attempt to locate as much material in this area of California as we can discover and house it so that future historians will benefit from it.

We have encountered two problems in our efforts to discover primary source materials. It has been nearly 60 years since the Ghadar Party was at its peak of activity. Its international phase spanned the comparatively short time from 1913 to 1918 and ceased with the San Francisco Trial in 1918. The Ghadar Party did continue to propagandize the ideals of the Indian freedom movement in the United States for some time after 1918. But many of the party materials and records have probably been lost and many of the active participants are no longer alive.

Secondly, a secret, revolutionary organization does not readily make its own history known publicly. So we must often employ the records and accounts of other agencies and persons, in most cases second-hand accounts. Governmental investigative agencies had an intense interest in the activities of the Ghadar organization throughout most of its existence. These accounts are often less than accurate portrayals of the ideology and workings of the Ghadar organization. The governmental agencies had their own perspective, and this was often at variance with the viewpoints and knowledge of the Ghadar members and leaders.

Our Ghadar History Project would like to bring to light any documents, including any document of the Party, personal accounts of participants and other items which would help balance a hitherto unbalanced printed record of the Ghadar Party. The Project is not attempting to present an alternative historical viewpoint. Rather, the Project's role and the Library's role must of necessity be a neutral one. We leave historical judgements to the historians, but we would like to make available additional material to historians which are not now readily available. We are assuming that the best historical evidence is that produced closest to the time of the original action and is most objectively disposed to the subject. Unfortunately, the Ghadar leaders did not write their own history, so we must search out whatever records they did leave behind.

One interesting historical technique we have used has been oral history. This is a method which makes use of personal interviews with actual participants. A neutral interviewer asks the participant to talk about his first-hand experiences. It is a method often used in the collecting of local histories, that is, the histories of towns or cities. These interviews are tape-recorded and later typewritten transcripts are produced which are reviewed by the participant.

Our major task, however, is to locate still existing printed materials which could be added to the growing collection at Berkeley. Some of the materials we are interested in include: Pamphlets (*Ghadar-di-Goonj, Ilan-i-Jang, Naya-Zamana, The Balance Sheet of British Rule*), Magazines (*Ghadar, Desh Sewak, Khalsa Herald, Aryan, Sansar, Hindustani, Canada and India, Yugantar, Swarajya, Navshakti, Bharti*); Newspaper clippings and magazine articles related to the Ghadar Party; Letters of Ghadar members and supporters; Photographs of Ghadarites; Posters; Records of meetings, etc.

Quite possibly some of our readers will know of the location of these materials. We would certainly like to know about them, regardless of their condition or probable relevancy. We hope that anyone knowing about such materials will get in touch with us. Your help in locating these materials will be a tribute to the Ghadar Party. Our address is: Ghadar History Project, Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California, Berkeley, California 94720.



A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GHADAR LITERATURE

MARK JUERGENSMEYER

Abbreviations used in library citations:

CU — University of California Library, Berkeley.
 SSEALS — South and Southeast Asia Library Service
 CRL — Center for Research Libraries, Chicago
 IOL — India Office Library, London
 CST-H — Stanford University Library, Hoover Institute

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Local News

ILLINOIS

The Sikh Religious Society is flourishing and is quite active. The most conspicuous activity is the monthly religious gathering which is held on the first Sunday of each month at the residence of one of the devotees. These religious ceremonies usually last approximately 2 hours and are followed by *Guru Ka Langar*. The office bearers of the Society for the current year are: Dr. Harbans S. Sidhu—President; Dr. Madan M. Singh—Secretary; Dr. Amrik S. Dhaliwal—Treasurer. With the very active interest taken by the office bearers, S. Darshan Singh Teji (in charge of religious services) and by several other members of the community, the monthly celebrations are well attended. The hosts for the November and December 1972 meetings were Mr. and Mrs. Shivraj Singh Nijjar and Mr. and Mrs. Darshan Singh Teji respectively. (The December meeting was held on November 26, 1972 to coincide with Guru Nanak's birthday celebration.) Mr. and Mrs. Teji had organized an *Akhand Path* on November 24–26, 1972 as part of these celebrations. Mrs. Jagdish Azad and Mrs. Bhagwant Sidhu are responsible for organizing the children's affairs and the Sikh library respectively.

Sant Kirpal Singh was in Chicago during October 26–November 1, 1972 as part of his world tour. He delivered several lectures during the week he was in Chicago.

A detailed six-page constitution of the Society has been drafted and circulated among members and a monthly newsletter, edited by Dr. Madan M. Singh provides an excellent and regular link between the Society and its membership.

New Gurudwara. Active plans are underway to build a Gurudwara in or around Chicago. It is proposed to build the Gurudwara in two phases to seat approximately 1,000 people at a time. It has been estimated that phase I (to seat 500 people) will cost approximately \$200,000 to provide for a floor space of 5472 sq. ft. It has been decided that approximately 5 acres of land should be purchased for this purpose.

—K. S. Rai

WINDSOR, CANADA

Windsor, Ontario, is the headquarters of International Sikh Youth Federation and the Sikh Cultural Society of metropolitan Windsor. Both these organizations are doing a superb job of disseminating information on Sikhism, holding study circles and celebrating various *Gurpurabs*.

The office bearers of the former organization are: Chairman: S. Kuldip Singh (Windsor); General Secretary: Dr. Tarlochan Singh (Detroit); Secretary: S. Darshan Singh (Windsor); Publicity Secretary: S. Tarlok Singh (Toronto).

This organization has established a Panthic Advisory Panel of Prof. Uday Singh (Sudbury), Dr. Kesar Singh (Vancouver), S. Nivair Singh (Saskatoon), Dr. Karamjit Singh Rai (South Bend), Dr. Tarlochan Singh (Detroit), S. Darshan Singh Teji (Chicago), S. Tarlok Singh (Toronto) and S. Kuldip Singh (Windsor).

It publishes a quarterly publication entitled *Sikh World* of excellent literary quality and has articles in both English and Punjabi.

The Sikh Cultural Societies of Metropolitan Windsor (along with the International Sikh Youth Federation) has been most active in celebrating with great enthusiasm Sikh *Gurpurabs* such as *Baisakhi* (celebrated April 29 and 30, 1972) and *Guru Nanak's Birthday* (celebrated November 25 and 26, 1972). Several hundred people attended these gatherings which were held at the University of Windsor campus. In both cases, the program consisted of speeches by invited speakers on the life and philosophy of Guru Gobind Singh and Guru Nanak respectively, *Asa Di Var Kirtan*, translation of *Gurshabad* and *Guru Ka Langar*. S. Jaswant Singh, Kuldip Singh and Karamjit Singh spoke on various aspects of Guru Nanak's life and teachings on November 25, 1972.

—K. S. Rai

NEW YORK

On December 10, 1972, the Sikh Center of New York celebrated the 100th birthday anniversary of Bhai Vir Singh.

Local News

BOSTON

On December 22, 1972, the New England Sikh Study Circle celebrated the birthday of Guru Gobind Singh.

VERMONT

On February 17, 1973, the New England Sikh Study Circle will organize a *SIMRAN* session which will be devoted to the readings from *Gurbani* and recitation of *Nam*.

—Bhai Harbans Lal

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The birth anniversary of Guru Gobind Singh was celebrated on January 7 at the American University by the Sikh Cultural Society. The ceremony commenced with *kirtan* by Mr. Peter Singh and party.

Mr. G. V. Ramakrishna, Minister (Economic), Embassy of India, was the chief guest and spoke about heroic deeds done and sacrifices offered by Guru Gobind Singh to end tyranny of the then kings. The Minister compared the preachings of the Sikh Gurus with those of ancient saints and said that the principles of Sikhism were simple and acceptable. The Guru converted the Sikhs into a martial race who met the oppression of those times with a rare power of endurance and resolution. The Minister remarked that the Sikh community was a unifying force for India.

Speaking earlier Yogi Harbhajan Singh recalled the teachings of Guru Gobind Singh who had stressed humility and service. Yogi Bhajan emphasized the importance of meditation in the present turbulent world.

Religious gatherings are held at the Sikh Temple at 3911 Military Road, N.W. on every first and third Sunday of each month.

HOUSTON, TEXAS

Sikh Center Established. The Sikh Center of the Gulf Coast Area, has been formed in Houston, Texas, to provide "spiritual anchorage for the Gulf Coast Sikh community to disseminate information about Sikh religion and to serve the need for a community center as a meeting place for religious, social and cultural functions of the Sikh community."

The Center, which is located at 11103 Kerwin Lane, Houston, Texas, 77041, has been holding monthly *diwan* since September 1972 and is in touch with the Sikh Societies in U.S.A., Canada, Britain, Singapore and India.

SAN FRANCISCO

New Indian Music Program. A new one-hour radio program "Voice of India—U.S.A.," started on January 6, 1973, is on the air at 10 p.m. every Saturday and can be heard on 105.3 on the FM dial.

The program, which can be heard in the San Francisco Bay area, Sacramento and the neighboring communities, is hosted by Mr. Gurdial Mann and has been well received for its content.

MISCELLANEOUS

Dr. Surender Singh, Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin—La Crosse has been included in the *Dictionary of International Biography, Volume VIII, 1972*. This biography is published in the United Kingdom. Dr. Singh is already listed in *American Men of Science, 11th Ed., 1966*.

Mr. Mohan Singh Bagga, President of India Club of Georgia Institute of Technology has been nominated for Who's Who of American Colleges and Universities 1972.

Dr. Indarjit Singh Thind, Ph.D., M.D., Associate Professor at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, has joined the New Jersey Medical School at Newark as Professor and Director of the Department of Preventive Medicine. Dr. Thind's work in the development of a vaccine has been acclaimed.

Dr. U. S. Bawa, Professor of Economics, Bloomsburg State College, Bloomsburg, Pa., presented a paper on 'Intersectoral Relationships between Industrial Capital Formation and Agricultural Production: An Econometric Study' at the meetings of the Econometric Society held in Toronto, December 28—30.

Letters to the Editor

SIKHISM IN NORTH AMERICA

Dear Editor:

Until five years ago there were very few Sikhs in North America, except on the West Coast. Now there are sizable numbers in most towns. For instance in Sudbury, Ontario, there were five Sikh families in 1968 and at present there are over 200 of them. In Toronto there must be over 2,000 Sikhs.

The new Sikh immigrant in North America, however, is in a state of confusion. While finding himself in a new country with different customs and a different climate and language, he is running into housing and job-market difficulties. Separate from his roots, culture and family, he is naturally in a curious state and thereby in doubts. This confusion pervades Sikh homes and Gurudwaras alike. The first casualty of this confusion is the hair. Large number of Sikhs are shaving off. Sikhs are advising each other to shave. Sikh parents, themselves, get their children to shave.

Sikhs are establishing Gurudwaras everywhere, but the places of worship in a climate like this, have no semblance to the Sikh Places of worship and do not symbolize the Sikh Religion of five *Kakas* and of five *Banis*. The un-Sikh practices of the shaven Sikhs prevail. Many Gurudwaras are under the control of these *Patit Sikhs* who never care for *Gurumat* and *Rahit* layed down by the Religion.

If this degradation of Gurudwaras is not checked in time, there are only two alternatives. One, that a whole new concept of Sikh Religion is in the offing, the other that a Gurudwara *Subhar* Movement has to start to check and correct the present intolerable situation in Gurudwaras.

Fortunately, however, the time is not past for the Sikh *Sangat* to assert themselves. Sikhism is a democratic religion. What we need is a voice of Sikhs to favour *Gurmat* in Gurudwaras and in everyday life of the Sikhs and we can yet have the True and pure Religion as preached by the Sikh Gurus.

Gurumat as it applies in Gurudwaras, Sikh homes and lives is neatly spelled in the book *Sikh Rahit Maryada* published by S.G.P.C. This book is the outcome of all the centuries Sikhism has been in

existence. The actual writing of this book took thirteen years and effort by Sikh Intellectuals from all over the World. The first seven pages list the names of the great Sikhs of the period 1932–1945 who participated in laying down the *Rahits* and *Kurahits* according to the basis of Traditions, History and aspirations of the entire *Khalsa*. The book is indeed the creation of the whole *Sikh Panth*. Of course the book can change, but the whole *Panth* will again have to do the changing; no individual or group of persons can do that.

The *Panth* is Guru after all. The real power is in the hands of *Sangat*. Let *Sikh Sangat* in North America insist on *Gurumat* in their Gurudwaras, as the *Sangat* is the only one who can correct the present situation. This can be done by forming the constitutions of the Gurudwaras based on *Gurumat*. The *Sikh Rahit Maryada* should itself be part of the constitution.

Let the *Sikh Sangats* in North America be proud of their heritage and enshrine the true Sikhism of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh in their homes, lives and in their Gurudwaras.

Udey Singh
Assistant Professor of Mathematics
Laurentian University
Sudbury, Ontario

A CALL FOR MEMORIALS

Dear Chief Editor:

Sat Siri Akal! In this day and age when it has become a fashion among the so-called educated and liberal people to ridicule the traditions and culture of their forefathers, it is really heartening to know that an eminent scientist of your caliber is so proud to preserve his culture, trying to help fellow-Sikhs to feel the same way and acquaint the rest of the world with the Sikh way of life. We are really proud of you and congratulate you for this magnificent task you have undertaken for the Sikh community. I would like to make the following suggestions regarding the SIKH SANSAR and Sikh Foundation.

Letters to the Editor

I think that a renaissance took place in the Sikh world right after the partition of India and since then scholars have turned out enormous amounts of literature both in Punjabi and English on our history, culture and philosophy and they have done a remarkable job in separating myths and fictions from reality and facts. But in spite of this, I always felt that we need a periodical which should deal not only with our past glory but also with our present. It is in this area where the SIKH SANSAR can do a tremendous service to the Sikh community. I was very impressed with articles on Bhai Vir Singh and Dr. M. S. Randhawa. I think the SIKH SANSAR should have one article on an outstanding Sikh personality in either of the following fields: science, religion, literature, business, fine arts, military, farming, medicine, sports and athletics. We have very capable people in all these fields and their fine examples would serve as a source of inspiration and pride to the whole community.

The sacrifices made by the Sikh community for the Independence of India are far out of proportion to her size, but the so-called secular Congress party has done everything possible to de-emphasize the importance of revolutionaries. But this does not mean that the Sikh community should forget these heroes who laid their lives at the altar of freedom by upholding the traditions set up by our Gurus. The overseas Sikh community has always contributed generously to various relief funds or war funds whenever there was a natural disaster or war on the Indian subcontinent. I do not see any reason why we can't contribute to raise suitable memorials to our prominent martyrs and collaborate with prominent historians and scholars of Punjab universities and publish outstanding works on the *Namdhari* movement, Gurudwara movement and Ghadar movement. I am very much interested to know the views of the members of the Sikh Foundation regarding these two suggestions.

Wishing you the best of luck in your endeavor

in making the SIKH SANSAR a really outstanding periodical of the Sikh world.

Yours sincerely,

Baldev Singh
Sterling-Winthrop Research Institute
Division of Sterling Drug Inc.
Rensselaer, New York

ANOTHER SIKH CENTER INAUGURATED

Dear Editor:

Sat Siri Akal. It gives me great pleasure to inform you that by *Waheguru's* grace and enthusiasm of Gulf Coast *Sangat*, "The Sikh Center of the Gulf Coast Area" has been formed and registered in the State of Texas.

Monthly *Diwans* are being held since July 1977. We have also started a community news letter. We celebrated Guru Nanak Dev Ji's Birthday and are now planning to celebrate Guru Gobind Singh Ji's Birthday.

We are also very actively engaged on having a GURUDWARA here. We wish to advise the *Sikh Jagat* through you that any time any of you visits Houston, he is welcome, in the Sikh tradition, to stay with members of the Sikh Center here till a Gurudwara is established. The nucleus for this purpose is at 1123 Jackson Blvd., Houston, Tx. 77006 (713-526-8663). The name of the *sevadar* to be contacted is S. Sadhu Singh.

We seek your blessings, cooperation and guidance in running this center successfully and would be most happy to hear from you.

Waheguru Ji Ka Khalsa
Waheguru Ji Ki Fateh
Secretary
The Sikh Center of the Gulf Coast Area
11103 Kerwin Lane
Houston, Texas 77041



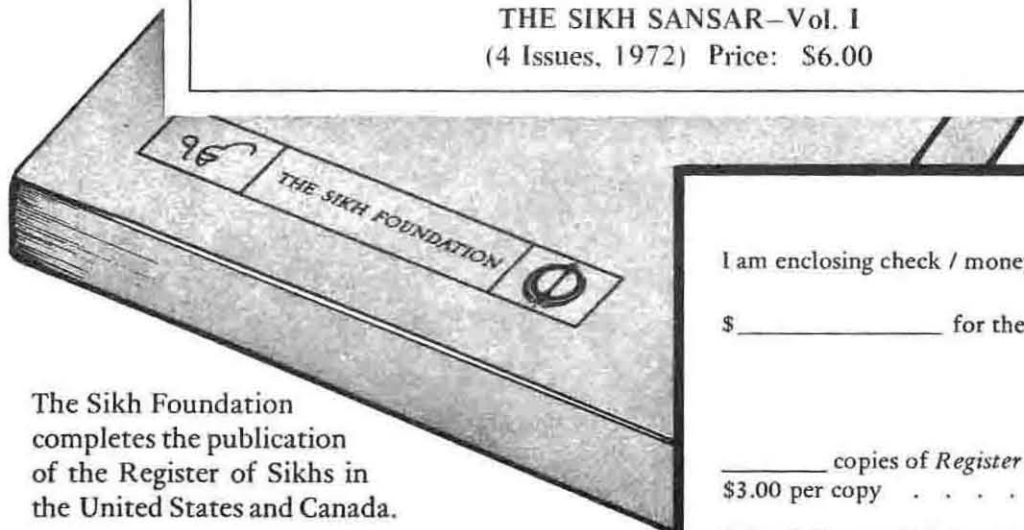
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1. All materials to be submitted for publication in SIKH SANSAR must be original and pertain to the fundamental religious precepts, the history, religion, and culture of the Sikhs.
2. The material should be typewritten, double-spaced, preferably on 8½" x 11" paper.
3. The article should be about four to ten typewritten pages. In exceptional circumstances longer articles would be considered for serialisation in consecutive issues.
4. All articles must contain an abstract which describes in encapsulated form the contents of the article.
5. References to material on which the contents of the article are based should be included to enable the reader to locate related material. The authors should take special care to see that as many pertinent publications as possible are referenced.
6. If a photograph is to be included in the manuscript, two black and white glossy prints of high contrast and clarity must be supplied.
7. Punjabi script portions of the manuscripts submitted must be typewritten originals of high quality.
8. Acceptance of the manuscript will depend upon the originality, clarity of presentation, and scholarly approach to the subject.
9. At this time no payment is envisaged for the material to be published in SIKH SANSAR.
10. A brief biographical sketch of the author and list of his other publications should also be included.
11. All the original material published in SIKH SANSAR will be copyrighted; accordingly, prior written permission would be necessary for reprinting elsewhere.
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